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CHIEF SEALTH

BY FRANK CARLSON, A. B.

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

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PREFACE.

The aim and object of this thesis is to present a complete and accurate report of the life and achievement of Sealth, chief of the Duwamish, Suquamish, Samahmish, Skopahmish, Stakahmish and Sktahlmish tribes. The work was assigned to me for especial research by Professor Edmond S. Meany in the Department of History. After taking a preliminary survey of the field, it was decided to continue the work and supplement the material bearing upon the subject by personally interviewing those few who yet survive and remember the chief.

The literature consulted was found in the libraries of the City of Seattle and the University of Washington, and some valuable information obtained from the files of The Seattle Daily Times, The Seattle Telegraph, and The Post-Intelligencer. This, together with several interviews with the early settlers, letters from various persons, and personal talks with the Indians of the Port Madison Reservation constitutes my authority.

I am especially indebted for valuable assistance in this work to Professor Edmond S. Meany; officers and attendants of the libraries mentioned; Mrs. D. S. Maynard; D. T. Denny, Clarence B. Bagley; Rev. M. Eells, of Twana; A. L. Bjorkstan, Professor A. A. Bartow, in charge of the Port Madison Reservation; Mrs. C. J. Thompson, a great-granddaughter of Sealth; and Judge Charley Keokuk, a resident of the reservation.

Seattle, Washington, June, 1903.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHIEF SEALTH.

That "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war," is truly demonstrated by the career of this untutored child of the forest who was able to sway the minds of the savage tribes by his oratory, rather than by the terror of war.

"He was the greatest friend of the Whites on this side of the continent." This has been emphatically repeated again and again by Mrs. D. S. Maynard, who enjoyed the friendship of the old Chief and has an intimate knowledge of the early Indians. She was with her husband, Dr. D. S. Maynard, who was sub-agent of the Port Madison Indian Reservation for nearly two years, 1855-1856; and she gained much information through her brother, Colonel M. T. Simmons, who was general agent.

D. T. Denny, who arrived at Alki Point in 1851, gave me this statement: "I was favorably impressed with the appearance of Sealth as a man of more than ordinary ability both physically and mentally. He could be heard a distance of half a mile when he addressed his people, and he seemed to control them by his powerful intellect."

But Samuel F. Coombs says of the chief: "The first time I ever saw Sealth was in the summer of 1860, shortly after my arrival, at a council of chiefs in Seattle. At that time there was an unusually large number of Indians in town, over one thousand being congregated on the sandy beach. Most of the Indians were standing around or talking in groups or listening to the deliberations of the council of about twenty of the oldest Indians seated in a circle on the ground. The chief figure was a venerable looking old native, who was apparently acting as judge, as all who spoke addressed themselves to him. I learned, from an intelligent looking Indian who could speak English, that the old judge was Chief Sealth.

"With this young man as interpreter, I interviewed several of the oldest natives as to how Sealth became head chief of so

many tribes. They said that about fifty years before that time, when Sealth was twenty or twenty-two years old, news reached the various tribes in this vicinity that a large number of mountain or upper Green and White River Indians were preparing to make a raid upon the salt water tribes. Great anxiety was felt among the latter, as the mountain tribes were redoubtable warriors, and had on several previous occasions vanquished them and carried off many of their people to slavery.

"A council of war was held, composed of the chiefs of the leading tribes expecting to be attacked. After the old men had presented their plans, none were satisfactory, and the younger men were called upon for suggestions; then young Sealth presented a well laid plan, which was adopted, and he himself was appointed leader of the expedition." *

Sealth was victorious and after returning he was elected head chief of the six tribes, the former chiefs becoming sub-chiefs.**

It is the object of this study to examine all the available evidence that we have, so as to judge fairly both sides.

Furthermore, an abstract of the treaty between the United States and the Duwamish, Suquamish and other allied and subordinate tribes will be given. And in connection with this, a description will be given of the Old-Man-House, the home of Sealth and the chief rendezvous of the various tribes.

And we shall note whether or not Sealth deserved the honor the Whites so gratefully bestowed upon him, and also mention his descendants, who forever will be proud of an ancestor who never shed a White man's blood.

* J. A. Costello, The Siwash, p. 102. ** p. 104.

CHAPTER I.

INDIAN TRIBES ON PUGET SOUND.

As we looked doubtfully into the dim past of Indian History of Puget Sound, there appears to our vision many heroes and battles that would be as celebrated as the siege of Troy or the founding of Rome. But alas! The Indians had no Homer to depict their deeds and valor, nor a Virgil to sing of their noble ancestry. Their past is forgotten, and the only relics that we find are their traditions, art and social life.

The Indians, like the ancient inhabitants of Greece and Rome, have no definite knowledge of their past; they believe that their ancestors have always inhabited that part of the country in which they live. It has taken years of research of American scholars to relegate the different tribes to their proper families and to deduce a theory as to their probable origin.

There are many writers who claim that the Pacific Coast was the first place on this continent inhabited by man. They support their claim by the similarity of language, ideas of Supreme Being and physical characteristics between the American Indians and the Mongolians and other Asiatic peoples; by the proximity of North America to Asia, claiming that the distance is not greater than it might have been possible to cross over, using the Aleutian Islands as stepping stones: whereas, it would have been impossible to cross the Atlantic; and by the number of different stocks of Indians that have been found along the coast from Alaska to Patagonia.

If we accept this view there is no doubt but that this part of the country has been inhabited for ages and was the home of many of the Eastern tribes.

But authentic history of the Indians of the Northwest coast begins with the early voyage of European navigators searching for a "Northwest Passage."

The first eminent writer of the Indians on Puget Sound was Albert Gallatin, who wrote "A Synopsis of the Indians West of the Rocky Mountains in 1836." His classification in giving nearly the whole region of Puget Sound to the Salishan (Selish) family, has been accepted by subsequent writers.

There are only two families who have from time immemorial occupied the region known as Puget Sound. The one is the Nutka (Wakashan) family, who occupy only a small territory around Cape Flattery, and number about five hundred souls. They live almost entirely on fishing, but they are quite intelligent and have rude huts for their dwellings. The other is the Selishan, or Flathead family, so named by Gallatin in his work. He did not know the extent of their territory and he simply referred to Puget Sound as their home. Our knowledge has been greatly extended in regard to the territorial limits of this family. It is found as far south as the territory of the Tillamooks, about fifty miles south of the Columbia River, on the coast of Oregon. North, it inhabits part of Vancouver Island, the Fraser River valley and the adjoining coast of British Columbia. East, it occupies territories as far as the feeders of the Columbia, which reach into Montana.

The table facing this page gives the different tribes that lived on Puget Sound at the time of the treaties between the Indians and the United States in 1855. It is based on the original treaties; The Tribes of the Extreme Northwest, by W. H. Dall; United States Census of 1890; and Governor Stevens' Report of the Railway Survey from Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean in 1853.

CHAPTER II.

CHIEF SCHWEABE.

The present chapter will contain the history of Schweabe, father of Chief Sealth, and chief of the Suquamish tribe, whose territory embraced the eastern half of the peninsula between Hood's Canal and Admiralty Inlet as far south as the Case and Carr's Inlets, and including Blake and Brainbridge Islands. His tribe numbered about five hundred. My knowledge of this period is very scanty, and consists mainly of the Indian traditions and gleanings from Vancouver's report in his journey around the world in 1792. His work is of especial importance, as he tells of the Indians before the White man had had any influence over them.

After careful inquiry it has been concluded that Sealth's father's name was not Sealth, or as he is usually referred to, Sealth the First, but Schweabe.* As to the probable meaning

* Interview D. T. Denny.

TRIBES	STOCK	WHERE LOCATED	HEAD TRIBE	Number
1 Dwamish	Selish	Dwamish River	Dwamish	162
2 Sukwamish	"	Port Madison	"	482
3 Samahmish	"	Sammamish Lake	"	100
4 Skopahmish	"	Green River	"	50
5 Stkahmish	"	Dwamish Lake	"	(?)
6 Sktahlmish	"	White River	"	(?) 942
7 Lummi	"	Nooksack River	Lummi	
8 Samish	"	Samish River	"	
9 Nuksahk	"	Bellingham Bay		1050
10 Skagit	"	Skagit River	Skagit	
11 Kikiallu	"	" "	"	
12 Towahhah	"	" "	"	
13 Nukwaksamish	"	" "	"	
14 Smalibu	"	" "	"	
15 Sakumehu	"	" "	"	
16 Skwonamish	"	" "	"	
17 Nuskiwhu	"	" "	"	
18 Swinamish	"	" "	"	
19 Miseekwigwelis	"	" "	"	1300
20 Snonomish	"	Skywamish River	Snohomish	
21 Snokwalmu	"	Snoqualmie "	Snoqualmu	
22 Stolutswamish	"	" "	"	
23 Sktahlejun	"	" "	"	
24 Skihwamish	"	" "	"	
25 Kwehltmamish	"	" "	"	1700
26 Puyallupahmish	"	Puyallup River	Puyallup	
27 Tkwahwamish	"	" "	"	
28 Shomamish	"	" "	"	
29 Niskwalli	"	Niskwalli River	Niskwalli	
30 Segwalitssu	"	" "	"	
31 Stailakumamish	"	" "	"	
32 Skwalliamish	"	" "	"	
33 Shotlemamish	"	Case Inlet	"	
34 Sahewamish	"	Hamersly Inlet	"	
35 Sawamish	"	Totten Inlet	"	
36 Skwaiaitl	"	Eld Inlet	"	
37 Slehtsasamish	"	Budd's Inlet	"	
38 Nuseahtl	"	Henderson Inlet	"	1200
39 Skokomish	"	Hoods Canal	Skokomish	290
40 Skwakanamish	"	Case Inlet	"	(?)
41 Chemakum	"	Port Towsend	Chemakum	90
42 Klallam	"	Okeo River	Klallam	926
43 Makah	nutka	Cape Flattery	Makah	596

of the name there is much uncertainty as the Indians have no definite knowledge of the origin of their names, but it is probable that it refers to some ancestor, natural object, or event in the past, which has been forgotten. The real reason why Sealth was not called Schweabe seems to be deep-rooted and found in their religious belief. J. G. Swan throws some light on the subject in his history of the Northwest Coast, where he says: "It is well known that the Indians north of the Columbia change their names when a relative dies, from the belief that the spirits of the dead will return on hearing these familiar names."* Speaking of the Indians of New England, Douglas in his summary of the history of the British Possessions in North America, published in 1747, admirably says: "There is not the same reason for preserving the names of the countries, nations, tribes, mountains and rivers as there is for preserving the Greek, Roman and other more modern names of such things in Europe. The Indians have no civil or classical history to require it. The Indians change their personal names upon the most trifling occasions."**

Vancouver was the first one of the early navigators to explore and name the waters known as Puget Sound, Admiralty Inlet, and Hood's Canal. It is very unfortunate that he did not inquire into the names of the different tribes and their chiefs. Undoubtedly referring to the Suquamish, he says: "Towards noon, I went ashore to the village point (south end of Brainbridge Island) for the purpose of observing the latitude; on which occasion I visited the village, if it may be so dignified, as it appeared the most lowly and meanest of its kind. The best of the huts were poor and miserable, constructed something after the fashion of a soldier's tent, by two cross sticks about five feet high, connected at each end by a ridge-pole from one to the other, over some of which was thrown a coarse kind of mat, over others a few loose branches of trees, shrubs and grass; none, however, appeared to be constructed for protecting them, either against the heat of the summer, or the inclemency of the winter. In them were hung up to be cured by the smoke of the fire they kept constantly burning, clams, mussels and a few other kind of fish, seemingly intended for the winter's subsistence. The clams perhaps were not all reserved for that purpose, as we frequently saw them strung and worn about the neck, which as inclination directed, were eaten two, three, or a half dozen at a time. Their station did not appear to have been preferred

* J. G. Swan, History of the Northwest Coast, p. 189. ** p. 191.

for the purpose of fishing, and we saw few of the people so employed; nearly the whole of the inhabitants belonging to the village, which consisted of about eighty or one hundred men, women and children, were busily engaged like swine, rooting up this beautiful, verdant meadow in quest of a species of wild onion, and two other roots, which, in appearance and taste, greatly resembled the saranna, particularly the largest. The collecting of these roots was most likely the object which attracted them to this spot; they all seemed to gather them with much avidity, and to preserve them with great care, most probably for making the paste I have already mentioned. These people varied in no essential point from the nations we had seen since our entering the straits. Their person was equally ill made, and as much besmeared with oil and different colored paints, particularly with red ochre, and a sort of shining chaffy mica, very ponderous, and in color much resembling black lead; they likewise possessed more ornaments, especially such as were made of copper, the article most valued and esteemed among them.

"One evening some of the canoes were observed passing from the village to the opposite shore. In the morning they came back accompanied by several large canoes, containing near eighty persons, who after ceremoniously paddling round the ships came alongside without the least hesitation, and conducted themselves with the utmost propriety. The principal number of these evidently belonged to the other side of the inlet; they were infinitely more cleanly than our neighbors; their canoes were of different form; they were cut off square at each end."* These latter were evidently the Dwamish tribe. He also mentioned two men who looked as if they had been chiefs. One of these was undoubtedly Chief Schweabe. Furthermore, he says that the only domesticated animal that they possess is the dog and of these they have a large number. They are like the Pomeranian dog and shorn as closely as the sheep are in England. He also stated that they possessed woolen garments, but could not get any idea where they obtained the wool. They had bows and arrows, skins and implements which they traded away for various articles. They brought a deer to the ship, which the whole village and the dogs helped to catch, and obtained a piece of copper less than a foot square for it, which they gladly accepted.**

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* G. Vancouver's Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, p. 261.

** G. Vancouver's Voyage to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World in 1792, p. 263.

Vancouver's history has been quoted at length as it gives such an excellent description of the Suquamish, Dwamish and other tribes at the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The Indian account of Vancouver tallies well with the time and place, where he says that he anchored off an island called Brainbridge and a heap of rocks called Blakely.*

Tradition gives it that Schweabe was constantly on the war-path against the Skokomish on the west, who occupied both sides of Hood's Canal, and against the Chemakum on the north-west, who were encroaching upon his territory around the Old-Man-House. Furthermore, he coveted the land of the Dwamish tribe. It is said that he reduced the Chemakum and Dwamish greatly in number.

He was also a great builder and encouraged the art of carving. He built large boats and went as far north as Vancouver Island. Mrs. D. S. Maynard made the statement that Sealth had told her that his father had built a large house on Blake Island similar in plan to the Old-Man-House. This house was used rather for a camping place than for a potlatch house. There is also tradition that he was of enormous strength and could drive an arrow through the thickest boat.

He married Scholitza, a daughter of the chief of the Dwamish tribe, and from this union sprang Sealth, who was destined to play such an important part among both the Indians and the Whites.

CHAPTER III.

SEALTH'S EARLY LIFE AND MARRIAGE.

Sealth was born about the year 1786. This is the age given on the monument erected by the pioneers in 1890, after they had made a careful inquiry among the survivors of his tribe.

As to the place of his birth, opinions differ. The Indians interviewed have unanimously stated that he was born at the Old-Man-House, but Mrs. D. S. Maynard positively declares that Sealth told her that he was born on Blake Island, one of the camping grounds of his father's tribe. He pointed out the place of his birth and showed her the ruins of the house built by his father.

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* J. A. Costello, The Siwash, p. 18.

There is little or nothing known of his childhood, but undoubtedly his training was the same as that of other Indian boys, which consisted of learning to shoot the arrow and handle the tomahawk.

It has been stated by Bancroft and others, that he remembered Vancouver and his expedition in 1792. It is not unreasonable to believe that a boy of six years would remember such an extraordinary occurrence. And who can tell but that some act of kindness upon the part of Vancouver towards Sealth or his father may have converted this boy of tender years into a life-long friend of the White man.

The first time that Sealth comes into prominence is at the age of twenty, when the Mountain Indians threatened to invade the territory of the salt water tribes.

"Information had reached the salt water tribes that a large force of the mountain tribes intended to come down the Green and White rivers in canoes and inaugurate their attack at night. Sealth organized a band of warriors, and the day before the raid was expected they went up the river to a place on White river, near where John Fountain now lives above Black river bridge, and where the bluff on one side reaches to the river edge. The river here makes a short bend, and the current is very swift. A little below the bend a large fir tree standing on the bank was felled in such a way that it reached across the river and lay only a few inches above water, so that no canoe could go under without upsetting. The work of felling the tree was done with rude axes, some made of stone, and it took the band nearly the whole day to bring it down and get it into position, which was finally accomplished before sunset. Sealth then ambushed his warriors armed with bows and arrows, lances, tomahawks, and knives, on either side of the stream, and confidently awaited the invaders.

"As soon as it was dusk five large canoes loaded with one hundred selected warriors started down stream, and as there was a strong current it was not long before they fell into the trap. The leading canoes were successively swamped before the occupants could realize the nature of the obstruction. The cries of their unfortunate companions, however, enabled those in the last two canoes to reach the shore before coming to the log. In the meantime thirty of the occupants of the leading canoes were either drowned, killed or captured by Sealth's warriors, and those who reached shore in safety betook themselves

up the river again, and their account of the disaster which had befallen their companions so discouraged the remainder of the expedition that they retired to their mountain homes."*

When Sealth returned, a grand council of the tribes was called, composed of the chiefs of the different tribes that had been threatened. He was elected head chief of the six tribes and the former chiefs in turn became sub-chiefs. One or two of the tribes objected, but he organized an expedition and made a tour of the tribes prepared to give battle if necessary; he did, however, subdue them by diplomacy, a policy which he followed for the remainder of his life.

Sealth had two successive wives and several concubines. There is nothing known about them, not even their names. The only reference that we have was given by Kickesimla (Angeline), the only child of his first wife. She claimed that her father was twenty-five years old when she was born and that her mother died while she was very young. Sealth was again married, and by his second wife had five children, two boys and three girls.

CHAPTER IV.

CHIEFTAINSHIP.

There are different opinions as to how Sealth became chief of the six tribes. It should, however, be remembered that he inherited his father's ability, and was his legal successor in the Suquamish tribe. Furthermore, he was a firm friend of the Dwamish, the tribe of his mother, and had spent most of his early life among them.

According to Gibbs, the eldest son inherits the position and honor of his father unless for some reason he is incapable or unworthy of holding it; in that case it is said that the tribe sometimes sets him aside for the next. "If a chief's sons are too young his brother or next relative succeeds him and continues till his death, when the office reverts to the son of the elder. It is not unusual to find men living as chiefs over the mother's tribe instead of the father's. It does not appear that the title in such cases descends in the female line. There is no class of warriors and no distinction between war chiefs and peace chiefs."*

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* S. F. Coombs, Post-Intelligencer, March 26, 1893.
* G. Gibbs, D. M.; in W. H. Dall's Tribes of the Extreme Northwest, p. 185.

In fact the political organization is weak. In their councils every one has a right of speaking and assent or dissent is ascertained by acclamation or silence. The decision of all questions of moment depend upon the will of the majority interested. *

The tribe, which is the smallest political unit, is a democracy pure and simple. It represents the same ancestor, the same language, the same customs, the same burial ground, and the same chief. The chief has not much power and cannot command great respect unless he possesses some natural abilities, or great wealth, which he usually gives away at the potlatches in order to gain the good will of the tribes.

Besides the chiefs, the tamahnous, or medicine men, have considerable influence by virtue of their office, and they play an important part in the ceremonial incantations which accompany proceedings of general interest.

Reverting to Chief Sealth, there is no doubt but that he had accomplished some great deed which had placed him high in the estimation of his people.

It has already been referred to that he made a successful expedition against the mountain tribes and was elected head chief of the six tribes. According to the story of the Indians told to Samuel F. Coombs, the following chiefs became subchiefs: Kitsap, Seattle Curley, Tecumseh, Salmon Bay Curley, and Lake John. It appears that only three of the tribes were willing to abide by the decision of the council. Sealth had to organize a band of his faithful warriors and make his authority respected. In this he showed himself a diplomat, gained over the rebellious tribes and took a number of hostages.

After Chief Sealth had consolidated the tribes and enforced his authority, it is said that he strengthened his influence over them by giving grand potlatches, inviting not only his own, but other tribes, by protecting them from the raids of hostile tribes from both north and south, and by concluding treaties of friendship with many tribes. *

It may safely be said that Sealth obtained and held his position by his success in war, by his wisdom and prudence in council, and by his ability to appreciate and value the new ideas that were constantly being brought in by civilized people.

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* G. Gibbs, D. M.; in W. H. Dall's Tribes of the Extreme Northwest, pp. 185-6.
* Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 26, 1893.

CHAPTER V.

TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES.

On the 21st of January, 1855, there assembled at Mukilteo, or Point Elliott, about two thousand three hundred Indians. Governor Stevens had previously notified those east of the Sound that a council would be held and a treaty made with them. At this council the following head chiefs were present: Sealth, chief of the Dwamish, Suquamish and other tribes; Patkanim, chief of the Snoqualmoo, Snohomish and other tribes; Goliah, chief of the Skagits and other allied tribes; Chowitshoot, chief of the Lummi and other tribes. The head chiefs took seats in front on the ground; the sub-chiefs next, and the various tribes behind them in separate groups.

On the 21st Governor Stevens arrived and addressed them on the following day, Colonel Shaw acting as interpreter. Short speeches were also made by Mr. Mason and Colonel M. T. Simmons.

Before the treaty was read the Indians sang a mass after the Roman Catholic form and recited a prayer.

Then Governor Stevens asked: "Does any one object to what I have said? Does my venerable friend Sealth object? I want Sealth to give his heart to me and his people."

Sealth responded: "I look upon you as my father. All the Indians have the same good feeling toward you and will send it on the paper to the Great Father. All of them—men, old men, women and children—rejoice that he has sent you take care of them. My mind is like yours; I don't want to say more. My heart is always good towards Dr. Maynard; I want always to get medicine from him."

Governor Stevens resumed: "My friend Sealth has put me in mind of one thing which I had forgotten. You shall have a doctor to care for your bodies. Now, my friends, I want you, as Sealth has spoken well, to say so by three cheers." Which were given. Addresses were also made by other head chiefs.

The treaty was then read and interpreted, and the Governor asked them if it was satisfactory. There being no objections to it, it was first signed by the Governor and then by the chiefs and sub-chiefs.

On the 23d they reassembled for the purpose of receiving presents. Before the presents were distributed Sealth brought

a white flag and presented it to the Governor, saying: "Now by this we make friends and put away all bad feelings, if we ever had any. We are the friends of the Americans. All the Indians are of the same mind. We look upon you as our father. We will never change our minds, but as you have been to see us, we will always be the same. Now! Now! do you send this paper of our hearts to the Great Chief. That is all I have to say." *

A brief abstract of the treaty is herewith given:

Article 1. The Indians cede the land to the United States, comprising the present counties of King, part of Kitsap, Snohomish, Skagit, Whatcom, Island and San Juan.

Art. 2. Reserves the amount of two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, surrounding the small bight at the head of Port Madison, called by the Indians Nooschkum; two sections on the east side by Fidalgo Island; the island called Chah-choosen, situated in the Lummi River.

Art. 3. Reserves one township of land on the northeastern shore of Port Gardner, for the purpose of establishing thereon an agricultural and industrial school.

Art. 4. Specifies that within one year after the ratification of this treatey, the said tribes agree to remove and settle upon the reservations, or sooner if means are furnished them.

Art. 5. Gives them the right of fishing at any accustomed place, provided that they shall not take shell fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.

Art. 6. In consideration of the above cession, the United States agree to pay to the said tribes and bands the sum of one hundred fifty thousand dollars, in the following manner—that is to say: For the first year after the ratification hereof, fifteen thousand dollars; for the next two years, twelve thousand dollars each year; for the next four years, seven thousand five hundred dollars each year; for the next five years, six thousand dollars each year; and for the last five years, four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars each year.

Art. 7. The President may hereafter, when in his opinion the interests of the Territory shall require and the welfare of the said Indians be promoted, remove them from either or all

* Hazard Stevens' Life of Gen. I. I. Stevens, pp. 463-6.

of the special reservations hereinbefore made to the said general reservation, or such other suitable place within said Territory as he may deem fit, on remunerating them for their improvements and expenses of such removal, or may consolidate them with other friendly tribes or bands.

Art. 8. The annuities of the aforesaid tribes and bands shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

Art. 9. The said tribes and bands acknowledge their dependence on the government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all the citizens thereof, and they pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of said citizens. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defense, but will submit all matters of difference between them and the other Indians to the government of the United States or its agent for decision and abide thereby.

Art. 10. The above tribes and bands are desirous to exclude from their reservations the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent the people from drinking the same. If any one trespasses, his or her proportion of the annuities will be withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

Art. 11. The said tribes and bands agree to free all slaves now held by them and not to purchase or acquire others hereafter.

Art. 12. The said tribes and bands further agree not to trade at Vancouver's Island or elsewhere out of the dominions of the United States nor shall foreign Indians be permitted to reside in their reservations without consent of the superintendent or agent.

Art. 13. To enable the said Indians to remove to and settle upon their aforesaid reservations, the United States agrees to pay them the sum of fifteen thousand dollars.

Art. 14. United States further agrees to establish at the general agency for the district of Puget Sound, within one year from the ratification hereof, and to support for a period of twenty years an agricultural and industrial school, providing it with suitable instructors; and also to employ a physician to reside at the said central agency.

Art. 15. This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

The treaty was not ratified by the Senate until March, 1859, on account of the Indian war and misrepresentations against these tribes.

The Indians had certainly a just cause of complaint against the government which had appropriated their land and not paid them for it according to the treaty.

Finally, however, Colonel M. T. Simmons was empowered to visit the different reservations, conclude the treaties, and arrange for disbursement of annuities and provisions. It was in May, 1858, that he set out on his mission. The first place he visited was Fort Kitsap, where about four hundred Indians awaited him. He addressed them briefly in Chinook, laying stress upon the intoxicants used by them and the effects of the same. After he had finished, Sealth voiced the sentiments of people in the following words: "I am not a bad man; I want you to understand what I say: I do not drink rum; neither does New-E-Chis, and we continually advise our people not to do so.

"I am and always have been a friend to the whites. I listen to what Mr. Page says to me, and I do not steal, nor do any of my people steal from the whites.

"Oh, Mr. Simmons, why do not our papers come back to us? You always say they will come back, but they do not come. I fear that we are forgotten or that we are to be cheated out of our land.

"I have been very poor and hungry all winter and am very sick now. In a little while I will die. I should like to be paid for my lands before I die. Many of my people died during the cold winter without getting their pay. When I die my people will be very poor—they will have no property, no chief and no one to talk for them. You must not forget them, Mr. Simmons, when I am gone.

"We are ashamed when we think of the Puyallups, as they have got their papers. They fought against the whites whilst we, who have never been angry with them, get nothing. When we get our pay we want it in money. The Indians are not bad. It is the mean white men that are bad to them. If any person writes that we do not want our papers they tell lies.

"Oh, Mr. Simmons, you see I am sick; I want you to write quickly to the Great Chief what I say. I am done." *

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* J. A. Costello, The Siwash, p. 112.

CHAPTER VI.

OLD-MAN-HOUSE.

The history of the Old-Man-House, or as the Indians called it, Tsu-Cub, possesses peculiar interest, which distinguishes it from almost all other Indian architecture in the New World. If it were possible to unravel fully the history of the people who built and frequented this house, we would undoubtedly have a history as full of romance as the story of Troy, so beautifully described by Homer.

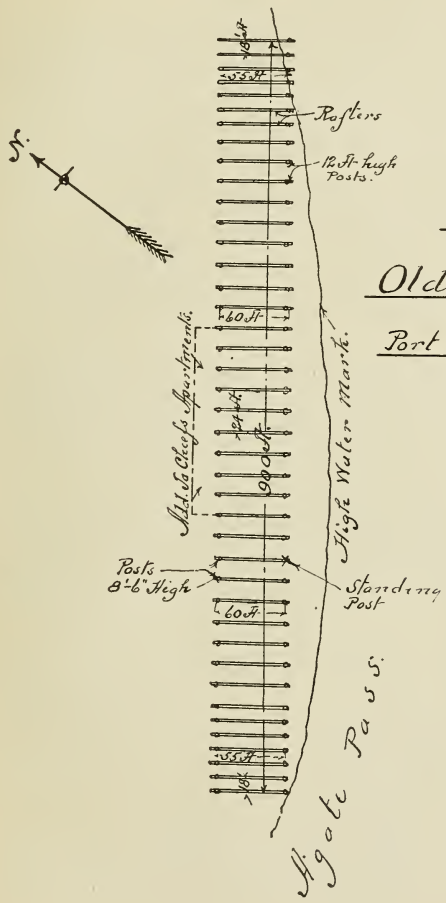
This magnificent house was situated at Port Madison Reservation on the beach of the northwest side of the Agate Passage, just where the water separates from Admiralty Inlet to form Brainbridge Island—it is about twenty-five kilometers northwest of Seattle. It was an ideal location for an Indian village, only a short distance of about one thousand feet across Agate Passage to Brainbridge Island on the south; on the north and west was land and on the east the mighty arm of the Pacific. Besides they could take advantage of the incoming tide and float southward to any destination with rapidity and return with the outgoing tide.

The ground-plan of this house is still traceable, although there is only one post standing; all the others have rotted off where they entered the surface of the ground, and then been washed away by the tide or burned by the Indians; but that part which remained in the ground is in perfect preservation, and shows plainly the location of the house.

In front, the outline of the house measures about nine hundred feet, in the rear a little less, as the house curved somewhat to correspond with the beach. In width, it measures about sixty feet, with the exception of a short distance at each end of the house, where it measures only fifty feet. At the north end, the rear end of a few of the rafters rested upon the bank. In height, it was twelve feet in front and between eight and nine in the rear.

It covered an area of about an acre and a quarter, containing about forty apartments, each entirely separated from the other by a partition of boards or planks split from cedar, held together by sticks fastened at the top with withes.

The total number of posts is given by Gibbs to have been seventy-four, which is about the correct number for the corner



Plan of "Old Man House" at Port Madison Reservation.

posts.* The size of the posts differ; in front they were about fifteen feet long, two or four feet wide and ten to twelve inches thick; in the rear they were twelve feet long with the same width and thickness as those in front. All the posts were notched at the top and placed in position with the bark side facing the interior of the house and tamped solidly until they could support the great weight that rested upon them.

The rafters consisted of round cedar logs, hewed off at the upper side so as to make it level for the room. They were about sixty-five feet long with a diameter of twenty-four or more inches in the large end and about twelve in the small end. These rafters had also a post in the middle to support them.

The roof was covered with cedar boards (shakes), which were laid on planks that rested on the rafters.

The outside walls of the building, like the roof, consisted of split cedar planks which were put up similar to the partitions.

In each apartment was one or more fireplaces, which were generally made of stone and raised a little from the ground. There was an opening in the roof through which the smoke escaped. This opening could be closed when desired.

Each apartment contained several rooms separated from each other by mattings suspended from the celing, and in several of these rooms were raised bunks constructed around the walls for beds, on which were used as bedding, mats. On each end of the apartment was a door which hung on wooden hinges.

The chief apartment, occupied by Sealth, was built very strong; the wall in front consisted of very heavy posts with several openings, and a contrivance to place in front of the door in case of an attack by unfriendly tribes. In a like manner Kitsap's apartment was fortified.

Furthermore, on every corner post in front of the chief's and sub-chief's apartments, was carved the figure of the big "Thunderbird" in the proportions in which it had fixed itself in the minds of that particular tribe; and also a grotesque figure of a man, about half size, naked, and with bow and arrow. This latter figure was supposed to represent the ancestor of the tribe. There were also smaller carvings on the other front posts.

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* H. A. Goldsborough; Dall's Tribes of the Northwest, p. 215.

This massive house of the Indians of Puget Sound was over thirty times as large as the houses built by the mighty nation of the Iroquois, which were ,according to Morgan's description, from fifty to one hundred feet long and about seventeen feet wide.

As to the time when this house was built, there are various conjectures; some claim that it was constructed about the middle of the eighteenth century by one of the tribes of the Dwamish Confederacy; others think that it was built in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The latter opinion is undoubtedly correct as Vancouver does not make any mention of the house. But the best evidence, perhaps, that can be adduced is the great mass of crushed, broken and roasted clam shells that are found to a considerable depth over every portion of the beach, even as far out as deep water.

An Indian whose name was Sub-Qualth has given the following information: "In the Tsu-Cub lived eight great chiefs and their people. Space in the big house was allotted each chief and his people and this was religiously consecrated to them and never encroached upon by others. To old Chief Sealth was given the position of honor; Chief Kitsap next, Sealth's aged father ranked third, and Tsu-Lu-Cub came forth. These four Sub-Qualth remembered as they represented one half of the Tsu-Cub. The next four Sub-Qualth did not remember, but his father, who was a cousin of Chief Sealth, had told him their names. There was Bec-kl-lus, Ste-ach-e-cum, Oc-ub and Lach-e-ma-sub."*

That the Old-Man-House was originally built for a Potlatch House there is no doubt, but it was also used as a residence for part of the year. It was chiefly used for that when the whites came.

Directly across from the Old-Man-House is located at Point Agate, perhaps, the only permanent record of these tribes. Upon the flat surface of the rock is engraved characters of different descriptions whose meaning neither the whites nor the Indians have been able to interpret. This engraving is said to have been done by the Tamahnous Man.

CHAPTER VII.

REMINISCENCES OF THE WHITES.

It is said that Sealth was rather below the medium height, round-shouldered, with spare limbs, his head was large and

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* J. A. Costello, The Siwash, p. 19.

covered with long black hair; and although his features bore the prominence of Indian character, still when speaking, his countenance beamed with an expression of pleasant dignity, rarely met with among the race. His dress was simple, but cleanly; usually consisting of a shirt and pantaloons of some strong fabric, with a blanket thrown loosely over his shoulders, while a cone-shaped native hat nearly covered his long locks, and moccasins for his feet completed his attire.*

D. T. Denny gave me the following narrative: "On the 25th of September, 1851, we found Seattle (Sealth) encamped at what is now West Seattle. Here Captain Fay arranged with his people to fish for him. I was very favorably impressed with Seattle as a man of more than ordinary ability, both physically and mentally. His head was not flattened by far as much as the ordinary Indian's. His chest was full, and that gave him considerable lung power. I heard him lecturing his people at a distance of over half a mile. The Indians living alongside of me could hear and understand him. During the time that they camped along side of us one of Seattle's wives died, and A. A. Denny made a coffin of split cedar. When they came to put the body into the coffin, they had wrapped it up in so many blankets that it would not go in and they had to take some off. He had two slaves; when the whites came to give them their freedom, the one went home, but the other chose to stay with him. It was a common thing to make a raid upon a tribe and enslave both men and women. Seattle, however, had bought his slaves and not taken them by conquest. The Indians, before the whites came, were very chaste, but whisky and unprincipled white men caused most of the trouble."*

The friendship that Sealth formed with Dr. Maynard was life-long. During the Indian war of 1855-6, Sealth remained a steadfast friend to the whites and never betrayed their interest. Before the war broke out, he had been asked by the citizens to reside in Seattle as a protection against the unfriendly tribes; but when he found out that he was suspected as a spy, he quietly moved away to Port Madison and remained there until the end of the war. He kept himself informed of the movements of Leschi and his Seattle followers. Mrs. Maynard lets it be known that she made a trip to Seattle during the night, a few days before the attack of Leschi, and informed Captain Gainsworth, commander of the U. S. warship "Decatur,"

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* Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Jan. 1, 1884.
* Interview, D T. Denny.

that Leschi was about to attack the town. She was disguised as an Indian woman and Angeline and Hattie Kitsap rowed her to Seattle, as only Indian women were allowed to go there.*

There is some doubt in the minds of some of the settlers as to Mrs. Maynard's story, but Mrs. Hanford gave me this statement: "I heard Mrs. Maynard and Angeline, in my house, speak about this trip some years after it had occurred."

It is said that Seattle, on hearing that the town was called by his name, and foreseeing that it would be a disturbance to his ghost when he should pass away, made this a ground for levying a tax on the citizens while living, taking his pay beforehand for the inconvenience he expected to suffer from the use of his name after death. **

In 1864 Sealth sat for his first picture, but there is no truth in the story that he was intoxicated at the time, as it has been reported.

In 1853, G. Gibbs reports that the Dwamish and some others had small patches of potato grounds, amounting all together to, perhaps, thirty acres. It is stated that they raised about three thousand bushels. This ground was located at the lake fork of the Dwamish River. †

There were many peculiar customs in vogue among the Indians, but they have been described so often that a mere mention of them will be given.

The one that is peculiar to this section of the country is the Potlatch, a feast at which a rich person, generally a chief, gives away most of his goods to his people, as an evidence of his greatness.

Another custom is the flattening of the head of all children of free parents, others not enjoying the privilege.

On arrival at puberty, "the first prominent event in a woman's life is a period of ceremonial observance among these Indians as seems to be the case with most savage tribes." ‡

And still another custom is the war dance, but at the arrival of the whites it was in reality only an imitation.

As to the burial of the dead, it was reported by Wilkes that when he anchored at Port Orchard he found three canoes

* Interview, Mrs. D. S. Maynard. ** Yesler's Washington Territory, MS. 6; Murphy, Appleton's Journal, 1877.
† Wilkes, U. S. Exploring Exp. Vol. 4, 479. ‡ George Gibbs.

propped on trees containing the bodies of Indians. It was also customary, even after the whites came, to slay the animals and the slaves of the dead men, near their place of burial. But Sealth did all in his power to put a stop to this evil practice.

And another may be mentioned, the Medicine Man, or the Tamahnous; Read Admiral Phelps reports that Ma-mouking Tamahnous was performed by laying the patient prone upon a board on the ground, and while his friends, dressed in fantastic garb and smeared with paint, drum upon boards, sing, dance, shout and howl till wrought to a state of frenzy, and the night "becomes hideous" with their bewildering din; the Medicine Man is gravely engaged in walking on his knees over the entire body of the patient, frequently stopping to pinch, punch, pound and knead with his fists, muttering some incomprehensible incantations all the while, and when the morning appears it is not at all surprising to learn that long before the ceremony was concluded the patient has departed for the happy hunting ground of his fathers.

CHAPTER VIII.

SEALTH'S LAST YEARS. DEATH AND FUNERAL.

The last years of the Great Chief were passed at Port Madison Reservation, with an occasional visit to Seattle. His chief mission seemed to be to encourage his people to abstain from intoxicants and obey the laws of the government.

"In 1866 Seattle's (Sealth's) health began to fail. Month after month he grew weaker and weaker till at last he became helpless, but his mind was clear, and he fully realized his condition. Just before he breathed his last the native priest and principal men of the tribe gathered about him and he was told that he was dying. 'It's well,' said he, 'my heart is good. I have only one thing to ask and that is for my good friend—always my friend—to come to my funeral and shake hands with me before I am laid in the ground.' These were the venerable old man's last words; he closed his eyes and his spirit departed. The event cast a gloom over the whole village. Every member of his tribes seemed to be deeply afflicted. But there was none of the vociferous howling and humdrum of the medicine man so common among all the tribes of the coast on such occasions. A messenger was dispatched to Port Madison to announce the death of Seattle, the day the funeral ceremony would take place,

and his last request. At the appointed time Mr. Meigs embarked on board his steamer "Old-Man-House" to pay the last mark of respect to his deceased friend.

"A large concourse of whites and Indians was assembled. The sun, at its meridian height, burst through the mist beaming upon the mountains that overlooked the ocean rolling between the continents, and whose peaks were seen by the ancient voyagers even before the days of Juan de Fuca. The elements were in subdued stillness and the vapors curled around distant Rainier as if it was shrouded in sympathy with those who so deeply deplored the loss of their chieftain.

"A stalwart native priest arose, and conducted the funeral services of the Roman Catholic Church with touching solemnity; and at their conclusion all was still save the hum of the insects and the songs of the birds scattered through the luxuriant spring foliage. A moment passed and then another. When one of the sub-chiefs stood forth, who repeated in measured Indian cadence used when discoursing on great events the name of "Seattle—Seattle." The deep tangled forest overshadowing the assemblage echo back "Seattle—Seattle" and a re-echo came over the dark waters of the bay, answering, "Seattle-attle-attle." As the last sound reverberated the speaker continued: 'The spirit of our great chief has gone—gone to the good land a great way off. His heart was always good—was like the sun, not like the moon, for that is changing. Seattle was a great chief, he knew better what was good for us than we knew ourselves. But why do I speak? For his son is here —he knows best about our good chief—he is his own flesh and blood—let him talk.' The young man then stood up and calmly said: 'My father's remains lie before us; they are going to yonder hill to be buried deep in the earth. Ages ago this mode of burial would have appalled us, for the dead bodies of our ancestors were elevated on trees, or laid in canoes above the ground. But the priest came among us and taught us the prayer. We are Christians now. Before he came the Seattles were the first in chase and the first to draw the bow and the knife in time of war; but the Godly man learned us to build good houses; how to cultivate the soil; and how to get money, like white men. He has told us, too, that when the Son of God was buried in the earth a great stone was rolled over his grave; but when God called him to heaven, the stone rolled back, and His Son came forth. We know that my father was the last great chief of the Seattles. They were his friends—so were

the Indians of other tribes—because he was just to all. In the last strife with the whites, my father was threatened because he would not fight; but he feared no one but God. Some of the Indians made threats . The chief of the Seattles told them that when there was cause for shedding blood they would find him on the warpath night and day. We are all glad that those troubles and times have passed. We are all glad that the great chief's hands were never stained with a white man's blood. He is now dead, but his name will live in the memory of all good Indians, as a wise, brave and Christian chief.' The young man then drew from his breast the photograph of Seattle and exclaimed: 'The white man will not forget him, for here is his picture, made by the lights of the heavens, the older it grows, the more it will be prized. When the Seattles are no more, their chief will be remembered and revered by the generations to come.' The harangues being ended, a breath of excitement passed through the congregation as Mr. Meigs stepped forward and shook the hands of the old chief in compliance with his dying prayer. Immediately afterwards the procession was formed, and the remains, followed by four hundred mourners, were borne to the cemetery, where Seattle was laid in his sepulchre, beside the woodland that was once his hunting ground; and in sight of the waters of Admiralty Inlet, where his canoes once danced on the waves."*

His grave, however, was left uncared for until 1890, when Arthur A. Denny, Hillory Butler, Samuel L. Crawford and others united and procured a monument, and on June 28 it was placed in position over the grave of the chief. It is of Italian marble and stands seven feet high. It is in the shape of a cross and the letters "I. H. S." are entwined with ivy. On the one side of the monument is the following inscription:

SEATTLE
Chief of the Suquamps and Allied Tribes,
Died, June 7, 1866.
The Firm Friend of the Whites, and for Him the
City of Seattle Was Named by
Its Founders.

On the other side of the monument are these words:

Baptismal name, Noah Sealth,
Age probably 80 years.

* Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Jan. 1, 1884.

CHAPTER IX.

SEALTH'S DESCENDANTS.

Angeline (Kakisimla) is the only one of Sealth's children who was well known to the early settlers.

She was born about the year 1811. Her husband was Dokub Cud, half Skagit and half Cowichan. By this marriage Angeline had two daughters, Mary and Lizzie. Lizzie married Joe Foster, a white man, but he treated her so cruelly that she hanged herself, after giving birth to a child, named after the father. This boy, Joe Foster, stayed with Angeline up to the time of her death.

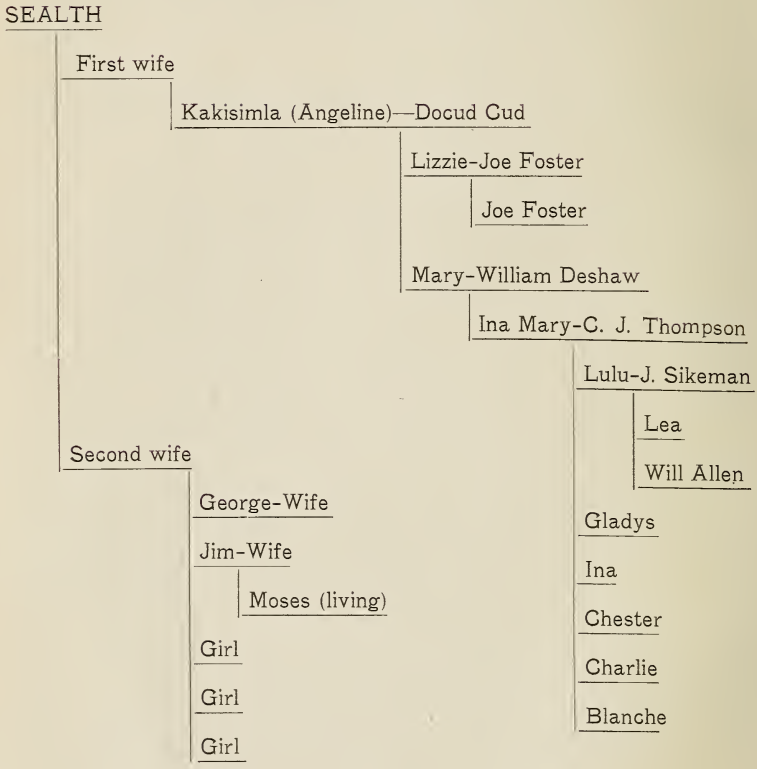
Mary married William Deshaw, also a white man, who lived at Point Agate. She had a girl who is now living at Port Madison as Mrs. C. J. Thompson.

C. B. Bagley gives the following account of Angeline: "Angeline, the daughter of Chief Seattle, will no doubt always figure in local history as a personage of no small importance; and about whom more or less romantic ideas and interest will continue to center . To all the early settlers she was no more than the scores of other Klootchmen of pioneer days. Our family arrived in Seattle the latter part of 1860. I do not remember that any one in Seattle then kept a household servant, but the natives did a great deal of the cutting and carrying in of wood, washing of clothes, scrubbing of floors, etc.

"Angeline was industrious and did the washing for them of four households, including our own. She was then thirty-five or possibly forty years old—in the prime of life. Her temper was not of the best, and if something occurred to ruffle it, she was known to take her hands out of the wash water, grab her hat and leave the premises in high dudgeon, not waiting for leave-taking or pay. Unlike most of her dusky sisters she was industrious and virtuous and always retained the respect of the white settlers, who were ever ready to give her financial aid in the last years when age and infirmities had inacapacitated her for work and self-support. Much has been said of her friendliness toward the Whites in early days. No doubt she was, but the same was true of most of the Indians who lived on the salt water adjacent to the milling towns of pioneer times."

In a similar strain Professor E. S. Meany writes:—"Twenty-five years ago there were not so many boys in Seattle as there

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



are now, but those who were here had their usual run of mischievous pranks which they enjoy relating to each other now that they have taken their places in the business and professional life of the city. One invariable recollection is the way the boys used to plague Old Angeline by yelling, "Pooh, Angeline." She would at once give chase, swearing in English and throwing rocks with rather dangerous accuracy. As the years rolled on the Indian's form became bent and feeble, the boys grew larger and their hearts experienced a change. They began to show her kindnesses and after that it was always a 'Kla-how-yah, Angeline?' (How are you, Angeline?) and the respectful salutation was invariably returned with a plaintive tone that seemed like a sad echo from the wilderness.

"Many stories were published to the effect that Angeline protected the Whites during the Indian War of 1855-6. She was painted as the western Pocahontas. No one wished to rob the old soul of one particle of glory, but, in the interest of history, two of her best friends—Arthur A. Denny and Henry L. Yesler—left statements to the effect that there was no truth in those fanciful yarns.

"Her bent figure and wrinkled face spoke of the forest and the snows. She was a quaint figure in the city's early history. She has gone. No other will take her place." She departed May 31, 1896.

Angeline's half brother, James Sealth, had a son who is living—he is a dwarf and the pet of his race.

CHAPTER X.

WHITE MAN'S TRIBUTE.

In 1852, when the pioneers filed the plat of their new town, they unanimously chose the name of Seattle (Sealth). It is said that Dr. Maynard suggested the name, but it is not known positively. At any rate the settlers wanted their town to have a different name from that of other towns on the coast and the Indian name of the place "Zechalalitch" was entirely out of the question.

Sealth was always welcomed by the citizens of Seattle. Every pioneer felt that the Old Chief had been true not only in words but in deeds. Every thoughtful person realized that the Indians had been wronged, their land had been taken away for a nominal consideration, their freedom curtailed, their women

appropriated and it was only a matter of time until the race would entirely disappear.

But, as it has already been referred to, the pioneers did not forget Sealth and his people, and in 1890 erected a monument on his grave. "That grave and the beautiful monument will become more and more a Mecca for the lovers of history as this city grows in years and importance."*

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* E. S. Meany.

CHAPTER XIV.

RAID ON INDEPENDENCE AND INCIDENTS OF THE WAR ON THE BORDER.

At the commencement of the war there was much bitterness of feeling between the Proslavery men of Missouri and the Free-State men of Kansas. For several years prior to the war a man from Kansas, if known to be a Free-State man from that Territory, could not with safety travel through some of the western border counties of Missouri. He was liable to be abused or injured and his property injured or destroyed. In some instances, Free-State men, or supposed Free-State men, had their wagon-covers cut up, their wagon spokes cut out, and their horses shot. In ordinary conversations a Free-State man dared not assert the dignity of his manhood in maintaining his own side of a question, particularly if it were a political question, without danger of personal injury or insult.

In Border-Ruffian times organized bands of Proslavery men from Missouri went into Kansas and robbed and plundered the Free-State men of their property, and were thought none the less of at home for doing so. A man sold a horse on the Public Square at Independence at auction, was asked in regard to the title, and replied that he had a Kansas title, which was regarded as good, for the reason that a citizen of Kansas dared not come into the county and contest the title or claim his property.

When the war commenced and the Kansas volunteers were organized, they remembered the domineering spirit of the Proslavery men, the indignities to which the Free-State men had been subjected when they crossed the line into Missouri, and how they had been robbed and plundered of their property in Kansas.

In the latter part of September, 1861, Colonel C. R. Jennison, of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry, was temporarily stationed at Kansas City, with his regiment, which was recently organized. In the contests between the Free-State and Proslavery men he had been shot and wounded near to death by them in Southern Kansas. His name had figured prominently in the newspapers for several years before the war as a leader of the Free-State men in Southern Kansas. His regiment was therefore made up of men who participated or sympathized with him and Montgomery in their contests with the Proslavery men during the Kansas troubles, and were anxious to get even on old scores. Up to the latter part of September, 1861, no Federal troops had been stationed at Independence, and none had been there except Major Prince's command of Regular cavalry and infantry that marched down there the day after the Rock Creek affair, and marched back to Kansas City the next day. The domineering spirit of the secessionists had been intensified during the summer, for the rebel armies had been successful in several engagements in Virginia; Price's and McCulloch's armies had compelled General Lyon's army to withdraw from Springfield after the battle of Wilson Creek; and General Price had marched almost without resistance from Springfield to Lexington, and laid siege to and captured that place. While these important events had been taking place mainly in favor of the secessionists, the Unionists of Jackson County, largely in the minority, were persecuted, spotted, and several killed, among them Rev. Samuel Stewart, a minister of the Old Methodist Church.

The Union men looked around for relief against these outrages, and one William Miles, City Marshal of Independence, and other Union men of the county, went to Kansas City and reported the situation to Colonel Jennison. After some preparation the colonel made a rapid march from Kansas City, and arrived at Independence, and had the town surrounded by seven o'clock in the morning. Very few of the citizens knew any thing of his approach until they saw his soldiers marching in on nearly every street. The secessionists, who had long been in the habit of acting in an overbearing manner towards Union men, were greatly surprised, and quickly commenced hunting hiding-places. It has been said, and perhaps truly, that the man, backed by numerous sympathizers, who will mistreat a stranger from another State, is invariably a coward.

Colonel Jennison's men searched the town thoroughly and brought out from their hiding-places in cellars, barns, garrets, etc., men who had never tolerated in their presence those who advocated free speech, equal rights, and Free-State doctrines. All classes of men, Unionists as well as secessionists, were gathered up by the troopers to the number of three or four hundred, and marched to the Court-House Square and corraled there, as the citizens called it. It was nearly twelve o'clock before the citizens were all gathered up and brought into the square.

In the meantime part of the troops had been busy gathering up plunder, such as horses, carriages, guns, fine furniture, etc. This property was all brought to the Public Square. The carriages, buggies, and wagons were strung out around the Public Square, and the furniture and household goods were piled up on the stone sidewalk around the court-house iron fence, and extended nearly around the square.

After the citizens had been corraled and the plundered property had been brought to the Public Square, Colonel

Jennison read from his seat in his saddle a list of Union men who could come out of the crowd corraled. When he had finished reading off the list he then directed Mr. Miles to pick out of the crowd all the remaining Union men, cautioning him that for every secessionist he picked out he, Colonel Jennison, would give him a cut over the face with his sabre. Directly after Mr. Miles commenced picking out the Union men, the mounted soldiers surrounding the Public Square, with their carbines resting on their right legs, talking among themselves, remarked that, if they commenced shooting at exactly one o'clock, at the rate the men were being picked out, they would not have a shot apiece. This conversation of the soldiers was heard by most of the secessionists, and some of them were deeply affected, and it was reported that many of them imagined that they could feel the blood trickling from their wounds.

After the Union men had been separated from the secessionists, they were directed to the south side of the square, where Colonel Jennison addressed to them a few words of apology, to the effect that he regretted to cause them the inconvenience; that his men were strangers among them, but that they could now go and hunt out their property that had been gathered up, and take it home. He then gave the assembled secessionists a lecture. He talked to them nearly half an hour, reminding them of the wrongs that they had committed against Union men, and what they might expect if they persisted in committing such wrongs; that for every Union man killed, ten of the most prominent secessionists of Jackson County should suffer death. The property of the secessionists was loaded into twelve to fifteen wagons, and taken to Kansas City, and afterwards carried off into Kansas. As the loaded wagons were getting ready to leave, and as Colonel Jennison had finished his lecture to the secessionists, they were permitted, after the soldiers had been withdrawn from around the square, to return to their homes.

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